THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

APRIL 1957

Adventure Eternal—An Easter Sermon	*Edmund A. Opitz*	3
Criminality of Rulers	*Pitirim A. Sorokin*	9
The Inner Sovereignty	*Ralph Bradford*	11
What Brandeis Said about Contempt for Law	*E. F. Hutton*	20
Penalty of Surrender	*Leonard E. Read*	21
One-Man Pressure Group	*Duke Burgess*	27
Going into Business		30
An Educational Challenge	*C. J. Steiner*	34
The Basis of Economic Growth	*Ralph Husted*	40
Breaths of Freedom		46
Your Tax Burden: 1. Fruits of Intolerance	*F. A. Harper*	48
Christmas Presents	*Augustin Navarro V.*	58
When Thistles Bear Figs	*John Chamberlain*	60
Book Reviews		63

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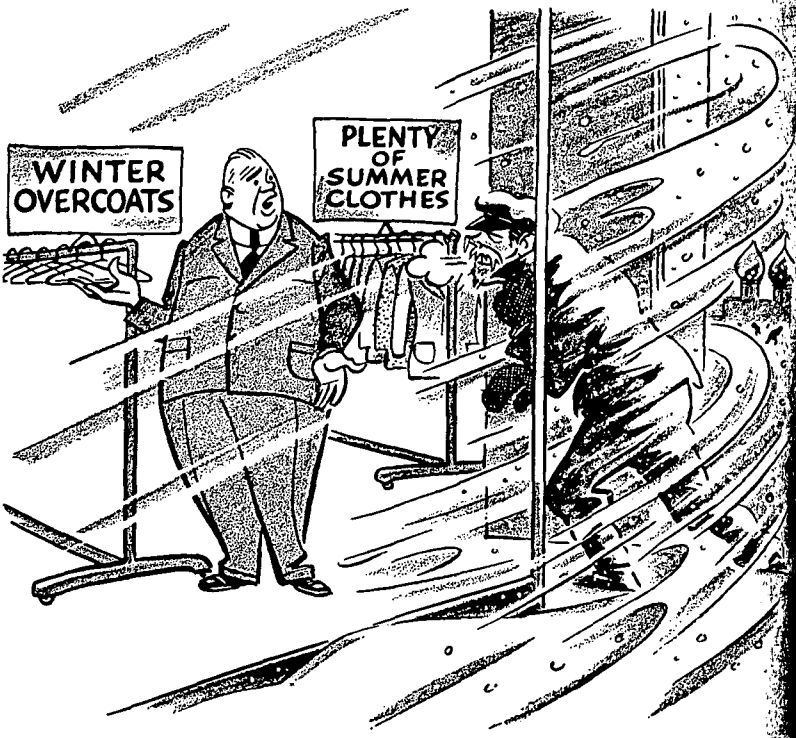

Not till July, Nikolai

THE Communist Party paper, Pravda, recently reported a shortage of winter clothing in the U.S.S.R. Seems the government-run factories were still turning out summer garb when they should have been producing for winter. Now Nikolai's out in the cold. Which only goes to prove that there's more ways than one for Communism to give you goose pimples.

This is what happens when any government takes over a country's business. Yet there are many in this country who think government can run business better than individuals. We like overcoats and we don't agree.

The Timken Roller Bearing Company

Canton 6, Ohio

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An Easter thought: For man to achieve his proper goal he must be free to start now.

Adventure Eternal

EDMUND A. OPITZ

THE LARGEST VOLUME in my library is Young's *Bible Concordance*. This book lists every word in the Bible and the passages where they occur, and it makes up into a tome about the size of Webster's Unabridged. It is instructive to look up various concepts in this book and note how certain matters were regarded by the ancient writers. Take the concept of "immortality," for instance; in the entire New Testament there are only two references to it, and these are from the writings of Paul. Jesus never used the word. Jesus spoke of "eternal life," and under that heading, Young has many references to the recurrence of the phrase in the four gospels.

The two concepts, "immortality" and "eternal life," are often thoughtlessly used as if they meant the same thing and were interchangeable. They are related, but do not have the same meaning. The idea of "immortality" implies an extension in time, a going on and on; the idea of "eternal life," on the other hand, suggests a quality of life, a richness and significance in living that makes going on and on desirable. Perhaps the distinction might be most clearly grasped if we say that "immortality" concerns what may happen to a person after death, while "eternal life" is a way of living which can be practiced here and now.

A young man came to Jesus and said, "What must I do to gain life eternal?" Jesus' reply was, in Moffatt's translation, "If you want to get into life, keep the commands." Note the words Jesus

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uses to paraphrase "life eternal"; "If you want to *get into life,*" he explains. "Getting into life" suggests the kind of living that is full to the brim of the real goods that the universe has to offer, the kind of life that is replete with joy and intensity, the kind of life men find within their reach, and possibly within their grasp. All this and more is implied in the phrase "eternal life" as it occurred in the thought of Jesus; it means much more than mere unending existence, the idea conveyed by the word "immortality."

Eternity Includes Today

Those of you who have motored through the Southern states will undoubtedly recall the religious mottoes that one sees painted on rocks beside the road. The favorite slogan of the people who paint these signs seems to be, "Where will you spend eternity?" The implication is that if you don't spend it where they plan to spend it, you won't like where you are at all. But if Jesus was right in his conception of "eternal life," the question is not "Where *will* you spend eternity?" but "How *are* you spending it?"

If we are the kind of creatures who participate in eternal life any time, we participate in it now; nor is our participation limited to the so-called spiritual level. We participate also at the natural and social levels. It is certainly true that we don't have to participate in eternal life now – nobody forces us to "keep the commands"; but if we don't "get into life" now, it does not seem likely that any later suc-

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cess in this direction will be probable if we postpone the present step. Albert Jay Nock remarked dryly that "the vast majority are so dead while they live that one may suppose they stay dead when they die." Matthew Arnold said the same thing in poetry.

> ... the energy of life may be
> Kept on after the grave, but not begun;
> And he who flagged not in the earthly strife,
> From strength to strength advancing — only he,
> His soul well-knit, and all his battles won,
> Mounts, and that hardly, to eternal life.

This is the point of view that, as Evelyn Underhill has put it, "each human spirit is an unfinished product, on which the Creative Spirit is always at work." If evolution be a fact, if we have developed from simpler beings by the full use of such powers as we possessed at any given time, then it is reasonable to suppose that immortality, if it is to be anything at all, is likewise an achievement, an achievement related to the use we make of our present powers.

Consider the Lily

The question of human immortality has teased the human mind for thousands of years, and the discussion has revolved around several points. One of the important considerations in any discussion of immortality is the relationship between the brain and consciousness. The brain is a piece of matter — the consciousness is nonmaterial. The relationship between the two no one can explain, although it is undeniable that a relationship exists. As a noted scientist remarked, "The transition from the physics of the brain to the facts of consciousness is unthinkable." Consciousness exists, and we know it only as existing in association with matter and force, but it is clearly not matter or force or any conceivable modification of either.

As an illustration of this point, observe the blossom of the lily. You look at it and see that it is white. Trace the whole process of perception: bringing in light waves, stimulation of the optic nerves, molecular motion in the brain, and possible electric discharges. The resulting fact of consciousness is an awareness of whiteness — a thing of an entirely different order than the molecular changes, wave lengths, and the other phenomena which precede the act of consciousness.

This act of consciousness is the nearest thing to us; it is the one thing we know directly — all else we know by inference, and this is true even of things we see and touch. Anyone who has had an

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elementary course in philosophy knows that we cannot trust our senses overmuch, that our observations of the outside world can be accepted only with reservations. Someone has remarked that the whole world outside, including the existence of other people, is only a remote inference from events taking place in the individual consciousness.

What Is Consciousness?

The individual consciousness is invisible and impalpable; but nevertheless, it is a durable thing, able to survive even frightful treatment of its physical partner, the brain. The book, *Death Be Not Proud,* tells of an exceedingly brilliant young lad in his middle teens who was the victim of a brain cancer. This wild thing began to grow inside the boy's skull, and for almost two years he fought off death. Despite the damage to brain tissues and the crowding suffered by the brain, the young man's remarkable intellect and sweet character remained unimpaired to the end.

Then too, individual consciousness persists in spite of bodily changes. In the course of growing older each one of us has used and discarded several physical bodies, a little bit at a time. Nevertheless, a sense of our own continuing identity persists; we know ourselves as the same person we were five, ten, fifteen, or fifty years ago. How does our consciousness or our personality survive the bodies we use up? We do not know, but we know that it does. The question is bound to arise: If our consciousness changes bodies as a pony express rider changed horses, can it conceivably get along without a physical partner?

Or put the matter this way: Within our experience we know consciousness only in association with matter and force, but must we regard this association as essential and intrinsic? Can consciousness persist dissociated from either of them, either alone or in association with some unknown quantity which has not their properties? If someone says flatly that it cannot, we must ask him how he knows that. If he says it can, we must ask the same question.

And with this we have come about as far as intellectual inquiry can take us. Unless other factors are introduced, the inquiry does not carry much conviction one way or the other. The reason for this is plain. Before we can entertain convictions, we must have some experiences which back them up. Certain conclusions may be air-tight logically, and yet carry little conviction with the majority of people because the majority has had no experience in the field in

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which those conclusions were reached. The next step in the discussion of immortality, then, is to discover the kind of experience out of which convictions may develop on one side of this inquiry or the other.

How Many Lifetimes?

The idea of the persistence of personality, or immortality, if it is to have substance, must be associated with the idea of something worth persisting in, with the idea of eternal life as defined earlier. If one lifetime is not worth living, certainly there would be no merit in carrying life on for an indefinite period of time. In one of Eugene O'Neill's plays, a character says, "Immortality! An old superstition born of fear. Beyond death there is nothing. That, at least, is a certainty, a certainty we should be thankful for. One life is boring enough; do not condemn us to another." This is the crux of the matter; if our life is not lived among the things which endure and ought to endure, and if some of the character and quality of these things does not rub off onto us, then the idea of its persistence is an unpleasant prospect.

Pick out the things on the human scene today with which you can associate the idea of eternity without arousing a sense of incongruity. Think of our preoccupation with the production, distribution, and consumption of material goods, of our absorption in life at the newspaper level, of our infatuation with amusements and distractions, of our international playing at cops and robbers. Did it take ten thousand years of human history to produce us and our like? And can we conceive of spinning out such existences as ours through all eternity? The notion is ludicrous!

Things of Enduring Worth

On the other hand, there is no incongruity in the idea of men like Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe carrying on their life work throughout infinite time. There is a sense in which the philosophers, poets, saints, artists, scientists, and musicians whose lives are already associated with the good, the true, and the beautiful have somehow entered upon eternal life already. The things with which they are preoccupied could persist forever without arousing our sense of the ridiculous. Indeed, our sense of fitness is injured if they do not so endure. The quest for beauty, the search for truth, and the efforts after justice are by their very nature endless pursuits, and those who engage in these pursuits are in the realm of eternal things already; they have "got into life." These are the kinds of experiences that lend themselves to the idea of

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immortality; if anything persists through time, these things do. The idea of immortality can carry conviction only when it is associated with the kind and quality of living that we have called eternal life. The question comes down to the practical matter of how we shall live now. If there really is adventure eternal, it begins right where we are now, with our attitude toward the things in life of enduring worth.

Moments of Greatness

There is little in our culture — even in our religion — which serves to bring our minds to bear upon the great human themes. It is not easy to raise ourselves to the point of getting into life. Our minds are preoccupied more with the means of getting a living than with the ends for which life should be lived. Our life is so fragmentary and full of distractions that we seldom get around to those things for which, in our more thoughtful moments, we feel a need. Yet even the least of us occasionally entertains angels unawares by acts of kindness, by doing more than our duty, by striving for justice, by spreading beauty, and by speaking the truth. Our life is shot through with eternity, and we live in the midst of things of permanent value which serve to remind us what we really are and to what we are called.

"One never knows," writes W. McNeile Dixon in an essay on the arts, "when the heavens may open, and in the shock of this bewilderment, face to face with the immeasurable universe, a man looks about him with a new awareness, a new apprehension. It is then that suddenly the whole scene of existence is perceived in its overwhelming immensity, its true dimensions. . . . It is then that the values of the fleeting world are weighed in the balance. Even the plain man is exposed to this strange peril."

There is a right kind of life for human beings, a life lived in the light of such eternal values as justice, beauty, truth, and goodness. That's an old idea, but a sound one. A life so lived pays off in the genuinely human satisfactions, being

> A light that darkness cannot smirch, a peace
> That torment cannot break, a life that death
> Is powerless to kill, being life eternal.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Liberty and Life

THE PASSION for liberty is only another name for life itself.

REV. CHARLES FERGUSON

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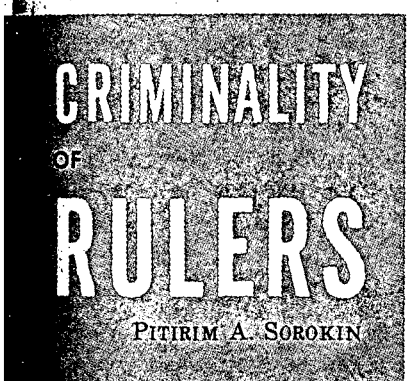
EXPERIENCE SHOWS that the use of almost all newly discovered weapons passes, within one or two decades after their invention, into the hands of criminals. There is hardly any doubt that small thermonuclear weapons which can be easily handled by one or a few individuals will be made available



within a short period. The same can be said of the means of bacteriological warfare. It would be quite foolish to expect that the criminals would willingly abstain from the use of such "handy" means or, under the existing circumstances, would be unable to obtain them at all for their "professional" operations. Some of the disastrous results of such a situation are obvious. One or a few criminals could then intimidate others and dictate their orders to communities, both large and small, spreading death and destruction to hundreds and thousands.

Still more catastrophic would be the results of a misuse of these weapons by the rulers of the states, of military forces, of business-empires, of political parties, of fanatical groups – even of international bodies like the United Nations, and others who may become legally empowered to control these weapons so that they would have at their disposal a vast accumulation of these instruments of death and destruction. We cannot fool ourselves with the belief that such leaders would never misuse or abuse their power and responsibility. The ugly facts of human history decisively confirm the validity of Lord Acton's dictum: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great [political] men are almost always bad men." And in correspondence with him Creighton quoted John Bright's utterance: "If the people knew what sort of men statesmen were, they would rise and hang the whole lot of them."

Our own investigation of the

Dr. Sorokin is Professor of Sociology, Harvard University. This article is from his address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 1956.

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criminality of the rulers – English, Russian, French, Austrian, Turkish kings, as well as the presidents and political bosses of republics – shows that one out of four of these rulers, these autocratic monarchs and dictatorial bosses of republics and democracies, has been a qualified murderer (patricide, matricide, uxoricide, fratricide, etc.). In other words, the rulers of the states are the most criminal group in their respective populations. Their criminality tends to decrease with a limitation of their power, but it still remains exceptionally high in all nations.

We have no grounds for believing that contemporary and near-future rulers will miraculously turn into wise and blameless saints who would not misuse these fearful nuclear arms by starting a nuclear international or civil warfare.

In the light of these data, the most dangerous group for the whole of mankind is the group of rulers, assisted by the morally irresponsible scientists and inventors of destructive means. It is exactly this group who might any day unleash the greatest catastrophe for the whole of humanity that we have ever known.

Unless we can discover how to diffuse rather than to concentrate political and other power of man over man, we can expect only new catastrophies capable of ending the creative mission of humanity on this planet. This discovery will require fresh and fundamental research into problems of criminality, war, government, morality, individual and tribal egotism, and the like. • • •

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Politically Powered Ambition

WHEN AMBITION, wild and lawless, seizes on the citizen entrusted with the government; when licentiousness diffuses itself through the community and corrupts the sources of power, that Republic is doomed to destruction. Mounds of paper and parchment cannot arrest its progress; the voice of reason will be drowned and Liberty expire. Over men void of principle laws have no force, when they can be transgressed with impunity. If you can stay the current of the ocean by a *bullrush*, then may you impede the course of an aspiring, triumphing demagogue by throwing in his way the laws of his Country. A power of restraining the tumultuous passions of the human heart, is found only in the dictates of solid morality; this therefore is as necessary to Republican Governments as blood to the Constitution of man.

DANIEL WEBSTER, 1802

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THE INNER SOVEREIGNTY

RALPH BRADFORD

MY GRANDMOTHER used to make humorous, malaprop renderings of well-known adages. One that I recall as pertinent to this discussion had to do obliquely with cause and effect. Using the word "mean" in its colloquial sense of being unkind, fractious, and disobliging, she would say, "The end doesn't justify you in being mean."

Perhaps in that she struck closer to the mark of truth than she realized. She was at least toying with the reverse of what has been a loosely-held but nearly universal opinion – namely, that ends do justify means; and to the extent that she denied that hoary dictum she was fighting with the stars in their courses. For this end-and-means adage goes far deeper into the patterns of human behavior and apperceptivity than its commonplace terms would indicate. Beyond every petty end of human contriving there is a greater end that dawns upon minds and spirits ripe for its meaning. And beyond the greatest end that man can dream of looms the ultimate end and purpose of life itself.

> *"Cause and effect, means and ends, seed and fruit cannot be severed; for the effect already blooms in the cause, the end pre-exists in the means."*

As human life has pushed its way through time, men have bandied about light phrases concerning the moral machinery of the worlds. This they have done sometimes in bumptious ignorance, now and then, I suspect, in humorous despair, and again perhaps in sheer lilliputian bravado when faced with problems and mysteries that baffled and awed them. And this end-and-means flippancy, this particular bit of morality-for-convenience, carries the fictitious weight of much usage, plus the counterfeit authority of its antiquity.

As far back as the first century

Mr. Bradford is a well-known writer and business organization consultant.

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B.C. we find Publius Syrus writing: *Honesta turpido est pro causa bona* – literally, "Crime is honest for a good cause." Many another, before and after Syrus, has sounded the echo of that idea – in drama, in poetry, in everyday speech. It is as much a part of our moral folklore as the familiar "All's well that ends well," and as fundamentally false.

Philosophical Obscurity

This is not to say that the adage has never been disputed. The question of the relationship between means and end is one upon which men have philosophized from earliest times. Indeed, one is a little staggered now and then by the weight of esoteric argument that has been expended upon the subject. Philosophers seem unable to consider the matter without floundering about happily in a swamp of obscure polysyllabic nomenclature that has meaning only for another philosopher. They start out to explore what seems to be a simple ethical equation, only to get snarled in a maze of abstruse ontology, epistemologic bypaths, chiliastic excursions, and eschatological speculations.

Maybe we can do no better with this present inquiry; but let us at any rate strive at the beginning for a simple answer to a plain question: Are men ever justified in using a bad method to obtain a good result? If we can answer that question with respect to our more obvious and material aims and methods, perhaps we will have opened the way for an understanding of the broader moral and spiritual applications of the careless old saying.

An End Involves Principle

What, after all, is an *end*? Every person sets himself certain objectives – things to be accomplished today, next week, next year. Some of these are actually trivial tasks; a few might be considered important ends. If we are not careful, we can right now get aboard a mental merry-go-round that will give us a circular ride as futile as Swift's burlesque tussle between the Big and Little-endians! Let us agree that an end, for our purpose, is an objective of sufficient magnitude or importance to involve a principle. Even there, we can easily slide off into tortured abstractions, and wind up in a helpless contemplation of the eternal flux and interchange of means and ends that occur (one supposes) in time's unceasing continuum.

Suppose we try to set up a few criteria, starting with ordinary, comprehensible patterns, in the hope that we can work our way through, finally, to some ultimate concepts. In a temporal and physi-

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cal sense, a good end for a person would seem to be one that will increase his happiness, prosperity, and usefulness without diminishing the happiness, prosperity, and usefulness of others. A good end for a manufacturing company, it seems reasonable to say, is to make a good product, sell it in competition with others at a price its purchasers are willing to pay, and make an adequate return to those who have invested their money in the enterprise. But you may say this omits any reference to employment and wages. True – and deliberately so; for contrary to much loose talk, the end of industry is not to furnish employment but to turn out a product that people need or want, and to pay a rewarding return on the capital invested and the management skills involved. If this is done, employment and wages follow inevitably; if it is not done, no amount of "social" good intention will avail to anything. The industry will die, and there will be neither employment nor wages.

What is a good end for a school? Shall we not say that it is to equip students to begin the life-process of education by teaching the value of mental, moral, and physical discipline? And what of government? Its good end would seem to be to protect its citizens in their life, their liberty, and their pursuit of happiness; and beyond that, to the greatest extent possible, to let them alone. Let them alone to be rapacious, to steal, to commit crimes and depredations? Certainly not; for to protect all, means inevitably to restrain and punish some.

Unworthy Means

If these be considered good and reasonable ends in the areas mentioned, what happens when the wrong means are employed for their attainment? If a person seeks to increase his happiness, prosperity, and usefulness by work, application, study, the use of ingenuity, the cultivation of his mental and spiritual capacities, his end remains good because he is using good means for its realization. If the person lies, cheats, shirks, substitutes deception for ingenuity, then he may attain the temporary end of personal prosperity for what it is worth; but he will assuredly not be happy, and he will certainly not in any social sense be useful. His end will have been destroyed by the means.

If the manufacturing company turns out a poor product by scamping on materials and workmanship, if its management rigs prices, juggles the stock, or holds out on the investors – then the end will have been destroyed by the means; and though the com-

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pany may for a time seem to prosper, sooner or later it will be bankrupt.

If the school substitutes educational gimcracks for fundamental training, if it forgets that its first mission is to develop character rather than to mass-fabricate a series of mental replicas, then the means will have swallowed up the end, and the human product will be largely worthless to society and to itself.

Finally, if the government forgets that it is government and becomes simply another commercial enterprise; if it competes in the market place with its own people, using their money for its capital; if those who successively control that government through the mechanism of political parties win elections by promising and giving to various segments of the population special privileges and advantages that can come only through the process of taking something away from other citizens; if it pursues policies that revolt the economic commonsense of everybody, including the supposed beneficiaries of those policies; and if in the process of doing all such things it ignores a long-continued inflation that reduces to fractions the value of the people's money; then by all these bad means the end originally contemplated has been diminished and threatened.

How Objectives Are Lost

In projecting and defining the objectives which we are pleased to call ends, does anybody other than criminals (and even they sometimes offer interesting rationalizations) ever admit that the end he seeks is bad? Hitler didn't. He said, and probably believed at the start, that he was working toward a good end: the political rehabilitation and economic upgrading of the German people. Mussolini didn't. He proposed a better economy for the Italians. Napoleon didn't. His expressed aim was for peace through the establishment of a kind of United States of Europe. Perón didn't. His avowal was to elevate the living level of the impoverished Argentine masses. Who will deny that all these stated aims were worthy ones? Then what happened to them, that they were never realized? Simply this: that the ends were destroyed by the means. The means used were cruel, tyrannical, unjust, bad; and the ends – I started to say they became bad also, but actually they simply disappeared altogether; swallowed up, so to speak, in the means.

Indeed, when the means used for their attainment began to be evil, the ends could not fail to be either changed or annihilated. "Cause and effect, means and ends, seed and fruit," said Emerson, "cannot be

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severed; for the effect already blooms in the cause, the end pre-exists in the means." And Nicholas Berdyaev, in *The Realm of Spirit and the Realm of Caesar*, put it even more searchingly. "The main consideration," he says, is "not that the means are amoral, cruel . . . but rather that, when evil means are employed . . . *the evil means form men's souls, while the good ends lose their living force.*" The italics are supplied to emphasize that what we are talking about is, after all, subjective. The good end, whatever else it may envisage, can only be good to the extent that it does not destroy, deform, or belittle men's souls. That, of course, is to state it negatively. The truly great and positive end is to free men's souls from all trammeling, artificial, and objective values, so that they may appraise accurately and pursue happily the real purpose of human life.

Wanted: A Million

And what is that purpose? We will try to find the answer in due time; but just now, let us see if we can peg down another point by assuming arbitrarily that a certain end is a good one. Let us make it objective, material, and "practical." We will say that it would be a desirable end for you to have a million dollars. You are a good citizen and a decent person. The million would enable you to get your wife a new car, give your daughters "advantages," and set your son up in business. Furthermore, you are charitably disposed and would give liberally to worthy causes. Aside from such things, you would use part of your million to expand the small business you now own, thus increasing the production of wealth. The end is good, both for you and for society; so you set about realizing it.

Tax Hurdles

The first thing you discover is that, partly as a result of our having as a nation used some wrong means to attain what were believed to be good ends, your government has fixed things so that it is almost impossible for you to get the million. It can be done; but what with tax brackets running up to 91 per cent, and what with the normal hazards of business enterprise, you find that it is very slow going. You become impatient. If having a million is a proper end, you want to attain it now and not thirty years hence. You get discouraged and you begin to be embittered. You see numerous other men with a million or more each; and you ask yourself petulantly what they have that you do not — beyond a rich father or a lot of luck. Maybe there just isn't any justice, after all!

At this juncture you meet an

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attractive chap who turns out to be an underworld character. He is a smuggler of narcotics. In your mood of frustration approaching desperation you decide to join him. In a short time you make large sums of money. Next, through your evil associate you are let in on a gambling racket and take a big cut. You then devise a slick scheme to sell worthless stock, and you come out of the operation with "a bundle." In the process, in order to save your own skin, you help railroad an innocent man to prison. But the money rolls in. You are loaded. You are a big shot. You have it made. In five years you have your million and are in a position to do all the good things with it that you once dreamed of.

A Soul Is Lost

That, after all, was your end – a good end, which you have never lost sight of. Therefore, we have here a clear case of where a good end has been brought about by bad means? Oh, but we have no such thing! For in the process of attaining that end something happened that you had not taken into account. You became a crook. You corrupted the innocent, abetted criminals, and wronged the helpless. Even though you might still devote large portions of your swag to worthy causes, possessing a million dollars is no longer a good thing for the kind of person you have become. In your hands it may now become the implement for great evil to society. The good end has been changed to a bad one. What is even more important and disastrous, you have deformed your own soul. You have demonstrated in your own moral deterioration Lord Acton's dictum about the corruptive influence of power. The good end has been swallowed up in the bad means, and you have been swallowed up with it.

An extreme and farfetched example? Admittedly. But similar changes and perversions can be brought about by less dramatic and obvious, but no less insidious, methods. When a man substitutes a public relations program for the simple process of running his business fairly and honorably, he may get what he wants in the way of misinforming and misleading the public, but something will have happened to him. Please notice that the significant word here is "substitutes." Public relations, so-called – the practice of letting the public know what you are doing in order to win friends for your business or your product – is a perfectly good means to an equally good end. But when it becomes a substitute for conscience, decency, and integrity, then it is converted into a bad means which will in time destroy both the projected

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good end and the man or men on whose behalf it is practiced.

Goals Become Stepping-Stones

Many of the things we ordinarily look upon as ends are really only means to other and greater ends not yet envisaged. Nevertheless, in terms of material human experience they are good ends – what we might call way-station or stepping-stone ends, quite good and proper in themselves, though destined to become subordinate in the perspective of an expanding vision. If, for instance, Joe Brown aspires to be president of the Consolidated Gadget Company (or of the Mid-state Agricultural College), and if he finally attains it honorably, he has achieved a good end. But if he has grown in soul-stature through the good means that he has employed along the way, then he will realize, once he has attained this goal, that it is but a means after all, in the larger pattern of his developing life.

Let us say that I work for a growing business concern, and hope for advancement. I want to achieve things, to be recognized, and to be rewarded. My ambition to be at the head of the company some day is a proper one within the limits of my present understanding of means and ends. If I achieve it by the employment of positive and growth-stimulating means, well and good; but if I become sly and wily and devious and scheming, and especially if I come to place my personal fortunes above the welfare of the company that pays me – then I will have changed the coveted good end by destroying my fitness for it. More, I will have ruined or indefinitely postponed my chance to pursue and realize the great end which looms when all the once-important lesser ends have settled at last into their place as means. That end is to comprehend and attempt to fulfill life's purpose.

To Fulfill Life's Purpose

Can we express that purpose? Surely it is not merely the attainment of happiness, else the greatest songs and mightiest dramas would not have been built upon tragedy and sorrow. The making and exchanging and owning of things – this cannot be the purpose of life, for these are often a burden and vexation of body and spirit. Success, fame, distinction, leadership, learning, even wisdom itself – all these are laudable attainments and conditions; but they are means, and to mistake them for ultimate ends is to miss the mark of our high calling, which is to a purpose beyond all method.

What is it that man truly aspires to? Superficially, this one aspires to power, that one to riches,

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another to fame, still another to social distinction, or to leadership in literature or in a profession. But these things, worthy and proper enough, are still not the ends that will lead to a man's fulfillment. When all success, fame, wealth, distinction have been attained, are men usually happy and satisfied? Why do they so often find that the thing they looked upon as the mark of success turns to ashes when it has been realized? Why are they driven on to something only vaguely apprehended but compelling? In their gropings men have assigned to life a variety of purposes: to labor; to build things of substance; to weave the dreams of art and poesy; to develop the wizardry of science – and in the very process of enumerating such things, one stops upon a suddenly realized conviction: These things also are but means; the great end, the final purpose, lies beyond!

The Instinct To Emerge

Do we really need to summon the philosophers for help in discerning life's purpose? Do we not know, each deep within himself, what that purpose is? There is surely in every man and woman an instinct for it, an infallible inner faculty for its discovery and apprehension. But apart from such inner promptings it is writ large in the annals of our fathers, back to the dimmest generations. It has been foreshadowed in the legends and sacred writings of men since their hopes and aspirations were first recorded. The thunderings of Hebrew prophets, storming down from the hills; the elaborate maxims of Shantung's yellowed sage; the dream of Gautama, fashioned from his Bo-tree meditations; the fire-born Persian drama of the good Ahura Mazda locked in endless conflict with the evil Angra Mainyu; the flaming One-God message from the hot Arabian sands; the gently-stern, truth-sanctified doctrine of love that came to the world from Nazareth by way of Gethsemane and Golgotha – what were these all but the variously expressed, universally apprehended concept of the purpose of life?

That purpose is to labor Godward, to approach and know God, to be Godlike. And shall mortals, who are of the clay, aspire to be Godlike? Yes, for both man and the clay are of God. To be God's image, to express him, to be like him – this is the only end, the only purpose, that makes life intelligible. It is the one great end to which all other ends are means. In this there is no immodesty or presumption. If man is a part, a child, an idea of God's, shall he cringe and be fearful of his Creator, his Father – or shall he not rather

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stand erect and unafraid, seeking only to know, to understand, to reflect God? The deepest instinct and most persistent yearning of the baffled human spirit is to transcend the material and the rational, to grow, to learn, to penetrate mysteries, to overcome evil with good, to be respected through earning self-respect, to strive for perfection – to be Godlike.

Belief Is Voluntary

About these deep promptings man has woven the fantasy, the legendry, the mystery, and the beauty of his religions. Sometimes those religions have been primitive, superficial, and infantile. Sometimes they have been smothered under the deadening fogs of sacerdotal formalism and compulsion. Now here, now yonder, they have been colored by those messianic doctrines, chiliastic concepts, doleful eschatologic theosophies, enforced dogmas and freedom-denying fixed credos which have caused the philosophers so much perturbation, but which are truly of little importance beside the central fact of man's undying, voluntary belief.

To the free soul of a free man, his secret meeting with God is his deepest spiritual experience. No one can force God upon him, and he resists all efforts at such enforcement as he does any invasion of his inner sovereignty, any attempted denial of his essential freedom. But in a universe of material mystery, with physical science leading only to the threshold of truth but never within the sanctuary, to the free spiritual man the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Man no longer, with impious impudence, creates God in his own image but believes, in humble pride, that he himself is cast in the image of the Creator. In this concept no place is left for the anthropomorphic God of primitive imagery. God is not conceived of or expressible in any terms that are relevant to the material things of ordinary experience. Man simply knows God; he does not and cannot describe him. He knows that God is spirit; and he believes, with a hope that grows living within him, that he himself is spirit, partaking of a universal spirit, and that he himself as God's witness may be Godlike.

To this end, all else in life and experience are only means – and to the attainment of this end, even to the touching in our understanding of the hem of its garment, no bad or unworthy means is thinkable. • • •

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What Brandeis Said About

CONTEMPT FOR LAW

E. F. HUTTON

CRIME continues to grow. The FBI reports the number of major crimes in 1956 was the highest on record.

Why? We claim to be peace loving, don't we? Yet crime is war. Our crime rate is one of the highest in the world.

Who and what is responsible? Many reasons can be given. All contribute, but there's an accessory that is seldom, if ever, mentioned.

It is government itself – our government – local, state, and federal.

In the Supreme Court, the eminent Justice Brandeis once said: "Our government, for good or ill, teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If a government becomes a lawbreaker (the moral law), it breeds contempt for law and invites every man to become a law to himself."

Government has ripped the market on its Bonds. It has cut its debt by devaluing the dollar. It continues to refuse to pay its debt during prosperous times.

Government says it is a crime for a single pickpocket to steal. But it says that A, B, and C, by combining their votes, can pick D's pocket and go free.

Government buys votes. It weeps over the civil rights of certain minorities, but punishes no one when labor union monopolies deprive cities and states of transportation, light, or power, or when goons terrorize law-abiding citizens and dynamite the homes of working men.

As Brandeis said: "Government breeds contempt for law." • • •

Mr. Hutton is the well-known industrialist, investment banker, and author of the column, "Think It Through."

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Penalty of Surrender

LEONARD E. READ

A CERTAIN business leader, perhaps among the most publicized during the last two decades, once severely lectured me on my unswerving and uncompromising behavior. He charged that I saw things only in blacks and whites. He argued that practical life was lived in shades of grays, actually in the shadows of these two extremes. He suggested that I had a nice chance of "going far" in the world, if only I would become more pliable to the thoughts and actions of my fellows. He really wanted me to be more agreeable to his middle-of-the-road political theories.

Shall a person live by what he believes to be right or by what he believes to be wrong?

The compromising attitude is exalted by many and deplored by only a few. Most current discussions are tempered with concepts of compromise and expediency.

Compromise, like many other words, has different meanings for different persons. I want to use the term in the sense of one of the definitions given by Webster: "The result or embodiment of concession or adjustment." I wish to show that compromise is potentially good when applied in a physical sense and that it has no application whatever in a moral sense.

For example, you and your wife are spending what is hoped will be

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a happy evening at home. She chooses to watch TV and you elect to explore Toynbee's *Study of History*. The scene appears peaceful as you sit side by side near this piece of furniture. But to you the furniture is making a lot of distracting noise.

Here are all the possibilities for turning a cheerful evening into one of disharmony. But compromise can come to your aid. Your wife can decrease the noise of the TV to the point where she can still hear it, and you can move to some remote corner where you can comprehend Toynbee just as well as anywhere else. Harmony can thus be preserved by compromise.

Compromise in this sense is an adjustment of physical situations. It is the process by which conflicts are reduced to the point most satisfactory to all parties concerned. When thought of in this way, compromise is the great harmonizer, the attitude that makes living together – social life – a pleasure.

Indeed, the market place of willing exchange where tens of millions of transactions go on daily is one vast area of compromise. Buyers aim at low prices. Sellers aim at high prices. In a free market, unhampered by private thieves and political restrictions, there is an adjustment of these diverse desires. Compromise establishes the price at which the mutual satisfaction of buyer and seller is at its highest level.

It is in the physical realm that most of our daily life is lived. In this realm compromise is good and it is practical. It begets harmony and peace.

How easy it would seem then, finding compromise so useful in such a vast segment of life, to conclude thoughtlessly that it has an equal place, a comparable value, in that phase of life which consciously occupies little of our thoughts: moral life.

Principles Defy Compromise

But this is precisely the point where I believe many of us are the victims of a confusion of terms. What is compromise in physical affairs – that is, in an adjustment of physical positions – is something entirely different when applied to principles and morality.

For example, let us make the reckless assumption that most of us are committed to the Biblical injunction, "Thou shalt not steal." This is based on the moral principle that each person has the right to the fruits of his own labor. The point I wish to make – my major point – is that this *as a principle* defies compromise. You either take someone else's property without his consent, or you do not. If you steal just a bit – a penny – you do not compromise the principle; you

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abandon it. You surrender your principle.

By taking only *a little* of someone's property without his consent, as distinguished from taking a lot, you do compromise in the physical sense the amount you steal. But the moral principle, whatever the amount of the theft, is surrendered and utterly abandoned.

If all the rest of mankind is in favor of passing a law that would take the property, honestly acquired, of only one person against his will, even though the purpose be allegedly for the so-called social good, I cannot adjust myself both to the moral injunction, "Thou shalt not steal," and to the demand of the millions. Principle does not lend itself to bending or to compromising. It stands impregnable. I must either abide by it, or in all fairness, I must on this point regard myself as an inconsistent, unprincipled person rather than a rational, reasonable, logical one.

What Are Moral Principles?

The question immediately arises as to what constitutes principle. Here again is a term with varying meanings to different persons. I must, therefore, define what I mean.

The Ten Commandments are admonitions derived from the religious experience of an ancient people. In terms of their origin, the Commandments are cast in the form of intercepts of the will of God; in terms of their application, they are imperatives admitting of no dilution. They were expressions of principles at least to the ones who received them, and have been adopted as such by countless millions. Their acceptance springs from the studied deductions of the wiser among us, confirmed through centuries of observation and experience.

The correctness of a principle has little to do with the intensity of conviction with which a man holds it. Someone else may hold a contrary principle with like intensity. No man can get nearer to the truth than his own highest apprehension of it. Ultimate insights may differ, and such differences will always be part of the human scene. But there is another type of difference which is more pertinent to the point of this essay: the difference between those who accept unyieldingly a moral principle as their standard, and those who accept a principle watered down by "practical" considerations. Lord Morley warned of this danger when he deplored the tendency to forget the principle itself in our preoccupation with the practical difficulties of applying it.

To me, "Thou shalt not steal," is a principled injunction not alone

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because some sage of antiquity said so, but largely because my own experience has compelled me to adopt this as a principle of right conduct which must be adhered to if I am not to destroy my own integrity, and if I am to live peacefully with my fellow men.

To those of opposite judgments, who believe that they should gratify their personal charitable instincts not with their own goods, but with goods extorted from others by the police force, who fail to see how thieving damages integrity, and who accept the practice of political plunder as right and honorable – to them, "Thou shalt not steal" must appear wrong in principle.

Sound Judgment Required

Whether a principle is right or wrong cannot in any ultimate or absolute sense be determined by any single one of us human beings. Principles on the level of human perception are what are judged to be the rules of life or nature; what are judged to be universal, eternal verities; what are judged to be fundamental points of reference. But, human judgment is fallible. Therefore, whether a stated principle is held to be right or wrong will depend on the quality of the individual's judgment. Aristotle claimed that there were a million ways to be wrong; only one way to be right. How easy for fallible beings to decide on a wrong way!

Sound judgment leads toward right principles. No person can rise above his best judgment, and he can rise only as fast as his judgment improves. On what, then, is an improving judgment dependent? My answer is: on revelation – "The disclosing or discovering ...of what was before unknown..." Other terms for revelation are insight, cognition, inspiration, extrasensory perception. On what does revelation or insight rest? Surely, on conscious effort, education, the kind of persons with whom one associates, the topics selected for discussion, what one chooses to read – all of these relate to one's perception. More fundamental, however, than anything else is intellectual integrity, without which, I am certain, the cognitive stream cannot flow at its best. Goethe expressed the idea thus:

> Nature understands no jesting; she is always true, always serious, always severe; she is always right, and the errors and faults are always those of man. The man incapable of appreciating her, she despises; and only to the apt, the pure, and the true, does she resign herself, and reveal her secrets.

Intellectual integrity simply means to reflect in word and in deed, always and accurately, that which one believes to be right. In-

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tegrity cannot be compromised. It is either practiced or not practiced.

Certainly, there is nothing new about the efficacy of accurately reflecting what one believes to be right. This principle of conduct has been known throughout recorded history. Now and then it has been expressed beautifully and simply. Shakespeare enunciated the principle when he had Polonius say:

> This above all: To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man.

Edmond Rostand had the same principle in mind when he wrote for Cyrano:

> Never to make a line I have not heard in my own heart.

The Bible announces the penalty of surrender – what it means to abandon the truth as one sees it:

> The wages of sin is death.

Whether the wages of sin be mere physical death, as when men shoot each other over ideological differences, or profound spiritual death, as in the extinction of integrity, character, and self-respect, one needs to make but casual inquiry to verify the rightness of this Biblical pronouncement. Abundant testimony is being provided in our time. Nor is the end in sight.

Principles Surrendered

All the world is filled with examples of surrendered principles: men who know practically nothing about themselves trying to play God, attempting to control and forcibly direct the creative actions of others; the glamour of popularity and shallow earthly fame rather than the concepts of rightness directing the policies of nations; expediency substituting for the dictates of conscience; businessmen employing "experts" to help them *seem* right, often at the expense of rightness itself; labor leaders justifying any action that gratifies their lust for power; political leaders operating on the premise that the end justifies the means; clergymen preaching expropriation of property without consent in the name of the "common good"; teachers not explaining but advocating coercive collectivism; aspirants to public office building platforms from public opinion polls; farmers, miners, and other plunderbundists uniting with the police force to siphon unto themselves the fruits of others' labor; arrogance replacing humility; in short, surrender of principle appears to be the distinguishing mark of our time.

If we were suddenly to find foreign vandals invading our shores, vandals that would kill our chil-

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dren, rape our women, and pilfer our industry, every last man of us would rise in arms.

Yet, these ideas born of surrendered principles are the most dangerous vandals known to man. Is the Bible right that the wages of sin is death? Observe the growth of domestic violence. Note the extent to which the organized police force – government – promotes and enacts plunder rather than inhibits it. Scan the last forty years of war, hot and cold; wars to end wars, each serving only as a prelude to larger wars. And, today, we worldlings, in angry and hateful moods, stand tense and poised to strike out at each other, not with shillelaghs, pistols, hand grenades and cannons, but with mass exterminators of the germ and atom types, types that only a people of surrendered principles could concoct.

Is Honesty Dangerous?

Perhaps it is timidity that prevents many a man from standing squarely on his own philosophy and uttering nothing less than the highest truth he perceives. He fears the loss of friends or position. Actually, the danger lies in the other direction, in settling for less than one's best judgment.

Does it take courage to be honest? Does one have to be brave to express the truth as he sees it? Indeed, *it is not dangerous to be honest,* but rather a mark of intelligence. Being honest and adhering to principle requires intelligence more than courage. Courage without intelligence makes men blusterous and cantankerous with their views; they offend with their honesty. But, the villainy in that case is their cantankerousness, not their integrity.

Finally, some may contend that even if everyone were a model of intellectual integrity, by reason of the great variety of judgments, differences would still remain. This is true. But differences lead in the direction of truth in an atmosphere of honesty. Honest differences are livable differences.

Life in a physical sense is a compromise, a fact that need not concern us. But, when vast numbers of people surrender living by what they believe to be right, it follows that they must then live by what they believe to be wrong. No more destructive tendency can be imagined.

Honesty – each person true to his highest conscience – is the condition from which revelation springs; from which knowledge expands; from which intelligence grows; from which judgments improve. It is a never-ending, eternally challenging – a thoroughly joyous – process. Indeed, it *is* living in its higher sense. • • •

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What kind of a subsidy, or special privilege, or law to regulate somebody else, are you working for?

1-man pressure group

DUKE BURGESS

WHO AM I? Just an ordinary American who deeply resents the way our major political parties seem to be working night and day to plunge us into the depths of slavery.

If I have any political leanings, they are to the right – the right of the individual against the might of the group.

Rabble rousers for the left have convinced many that freedom isn't very important. They've sold a sugar-coated dose of poison by advertising a utopia, the purchase price of which is hate, strife, and revolution – only they don't mention the price; they let us believe it's all for free. And the customers are persons who want to believe that they can have something for nothing.

There aren't very many who genuinely believe in individual rights and freedom. Of course, most people will swear by all that's holy that they are pure believers in freedom. Yet when they are pinned down, they believe in freedom for themselves but not for the fellow across the street.

A number of years ago when I first became concerned about individual freedom, I heard of a man who said he would probably die of shock if he ever met a businessman who didn't believe in free enterprise. Another fellow said he'd drop dead if he ever encountered one who actually did believe in it. That amazed me at the time, but now I am convinced he was tragically right.

Too often in recent years I have heard one businessman or another say there ought to be a law to control his competitors, while his competitors were probably busy dreaming up laws to control him. So, what happens? They all end up promoting socialism and dictatorship by running to government to solve something that could have been solved more quickly and cheaply by a friendly chat across the back fence.

I know a man who owns more than 100 stores, yet he hates Safe-

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way and thinks there should be some drastic law to prevent any company from having as many stores as Safeway has. It doesn't seem to occur to him that to the man with one store – or even five or ten – his 100 stores are unreasonable competition. I know another man whose main livelihood is derived from one of the General Motors cars, yet he frequently expresses verbal hatred toward the "big fat greasy capitalists" who ride around in Cadillacs. Obviously, it doesn't occur to him that he and the other folks who ride around in his brand of car would also be classed as fat capitalists by millions of people. To go a step farther, anybody who owns a 1925 Maxwell might also be considered a "big fat greasy capitalist" by countless other millions throughout the world.

Is Size a Sin?

The idea that size of a business in itself can be sinful is so widely accepted that hearings go on almost continuously in Washington to determine at what point a company becomes a "monopoly." Legislation is always pending which would limit the percentage of business any company could do in its industry.

I think it is one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation ever to be considered by Congress. I spoke of it to a man I know who is legal counsel for a manufacturing concern. His company does more than half of the business in its field, and it does more than half for one reason only – that more than half of the people buying that item prefer that brand. It has lots of competition. To limit the company to 50 per cent of the market would not only deprive its owners and employees of a place honestly gained in a free market, but, just as important, it would keep some persons from buying the product they like.

Now you would think that the company's legal counsel would be especially alert to the dangers in such a law. But what do you think he said? He said, "I think that might be a good law. You know it's criminal for a company such as United States Steel to get as big and powerful as it is." When I suggested that to his competitors his own company looked big enough to be outlawed, he failed to see the connection. He thinks of his own company as "small" business, yet its sales run into several million dollars a year – big enough so that many of his smaller competitors think it is a monster and there ought to be a law!

I know a man who used to be in the margarine business and thought it was a crime that butter makers could color their product

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Despite needless and numerous obstacles, thousands of new businesses make a go of it each year.

GOING INTO BUSINESS

ACCORDING to some views which we have recently heard, the Little Man contemplating a new business is wasting his time. The large, well-entrenched behemoths, having staked out the claim, sit tight behind their barbed-wire enclosures and deal harshly with anyone daring enough to challenge.

If this is true, as some people still profess to believe, then the big tycoons are certainly doing a sloppy job of slapping down. Last year, not less than 374,000 invaders crept through the lines and, when dawn broke, had firmly established themselves on Main Street; the monthly average of newcomers to the business scene has increased to more than 31,000 as against 28,000 in 1953. In the last 10 years, a total of more than 3,923,000 new ventures have been launched and, while many found rewards elusive, the successes outweighed the failures last year by over 63,000. In 10 years, in fact, we have a net gain of one million new businesses.

So, despite the nonsense being circulated to the contrary, the number of small businesses in the United States is growing steadily and, although much is heard about big business proliferation, over 75 per cent of United States business establishments employ three or fewer persons. At no time in history has opportunity knocked at so many doors. Nor has new enterprise ever been tendered so many helping hands. Large companies extend technical facilities and services, for example, to thousands of small business concerns through whom their own products reach the consumer. Although "tight credit" is often cited as a small business difficulty, the banking system is more attentive than ever to the needs of the small business community.

Strangely enough, critics of the American business system often hark back to earlier days for comparisons favorable to their view, but the facts dispute their nostalgic contentions. People like E. I. du Pont had the devil's own time raising capital a century and a half ago, and a harder time re-

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maining solvent. Collections were slow, credit from suppliers was difficult to obtain, and the proprietor often was obliged to pledge his personal effects to keep going.

Looking back to an even more pastoral era, before the advent of the Industrial Revolution, one would expect to find a minimum of restrictions on the Young Man Seeking His Fortune. But the fact contradicts the fable. Setting up a small business in the halcyon days of the Middle Ages wasn't difficult for the average man. It was impossible.

A book advising an ambitious young man on how to succeed in those days would have required some real insight. First of all, if his father were in the drapery line, he'd better not look fondly at the cordwainer trade – once a draper, always a draper. An apprentice who quit and ran away could be forcibly returned and subjected to dire punishment, without recourse to any Grievance Committee either.

The number of masters or proprietors in any given craft was strictly limited. A journeyman who wished to be in business for himself had to wait until one of the existing practitioners died (without a male heir) even to apply. Then he had to offer an example of his work in evidence (the masterpiece) which might or might not win the approval of his peers. If it were obviously so good that a rejection might be scandalous, he would be told that he must give a banquet for his fellow craftsmen: price, 6,000 kronen. Because few journeymen were up to entertainment on that scale, his application would be filed away for later consideration. Meanwhile, he could work for wages.

At some periods of history, the right to go into business was restricted to those who could obtain letters patent from a reigning monarch; in others, to members of certain organizations, or even certain religious orders. Farm laborers once "went with the property" like so much shrubbery; they could be bought, rented, or sold like slaves.

In the early years of the United States, while many of the artificial restrictions were removed, few people could be spared for commercial careers – nine out of ten workers were busy supplying food on the farm. As some were released by improved agricultural methods, the chances improved, but each had to win his way painfully – long before Big Business came into being.

It is regrettable that so often we idealize the past without understanding either past or present. • • •

From *Du Pont Stockholder*, Winter 1956-1957.

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This trick's on you!

A bucket of water over the door is one of the risks of April Fool's Day. But being tricked on *other* days is something else again.

Yet that's what happens as far as your taxes are concerned. Part of your taxes are used to help pay the cost of electric service for customers of federal government power systems.

First, your taxes help build the federal power plants that produce electricity for these people. Then, you have to be taxed *more* because they don't pay all the taxes in *their* electric bills that you pay in *yours*. People who get electricity from the TVA, for example, pay less than *one-fifth* of the taxes on electric service that you pay.

Next time you hear someone talk in favor of federal government electricity, ask him about the trick it plays with your taxes (and his). Chances are, he'll stop talking and start thinking. *America's Independent Electric Light and Power Companies*.*

**Company names on request through this magazine*

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AN EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE

C. J. STEINER, S.J.

AMERICAN higher education is faced with the greatest and most demanding challenge in its history. In this challenge there is opportunity to enrich and strengthen the very fiber of American society.

How America – its educators and its citizens – reacts to this challenge will determine in great part the artistic, the scientific, the professional, the economic, and the moral advancement of our people through the closing decades of the twentieth century.

The challenge we face is not merely one of numbers, that is, to provide educational opportunity beyond the high school for a vastly increased population that may double college enrollments within ten to fifteen years. More importantly, the challenge demands that we educate young men and women equal to the needs of our times.

It is the mood of our times – and one to which we subscribe heartily as being part of our American heritage – that every American, qualified to pursue education beyond high school with benefit to himself and society, should be given such an opportunity.

Our understanding of "qualified" implies and includes the following prerequisites:

1. Native ability
2. Achieved academic ability
3. Will and desire to profit from opportunity
4. Personal responsibility

Without the will and desire to improve one's own condition and to develop one's native talents, a young person cannot be helped by a college education. Unfortunately for some, the values of a college education are not transmitted by a process akin to osmosis; nor can a college education be forced upon one as food is forced upon an unwilling child. A parent can see to it that his son attends college, but he cannot force him to benefit

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from what goes on within its ivied walls.

To achieve the richest values from the total collegiate educational experience, an individual should be expected to exhibit a sense of personal responsibility for what is happening to him. The successful carrying forward of his academic program and even its financing should not devolve wholly upon parents, school, and society. Every student should be expected to make a reasonable contribution toward the educational process.

Opportunity for Youth

There is a vast difference between offering our young people an opportunity for a college education and forcing them to make use of such opportunity. When our young people face up to the problem and accept wholeheartedly their responsibility to achieve what is good for them and society, the educational process is bearing fruit. How one goes about achieving a college education can be more productive of enduring values than the mere acquiring of an academic degree.

We recognize that there are today – and probably will always be – a large number of qualified youth who are not able to finance the costs of their education. It does not follow, however, that, because of this situation, every American youth, irrespective of financial status, should receive a college education on an almost cost-free basis.

There is an ever-increasing trend in our country to look to government for almost everything that is important to the individual and society. We need badly a national system of interlocking highways, modern, fast, and efficient. We are facing the first swells of a tidal wave of elementary school children for which at present our plant facilities and teaching personnel are inadequate both in terms of quantity and quality. New homes are needed all over our nation. Natural resources must be husbanded, and new sources must be provided as soon as possible. And so it goes.

The Great Illusion

One could easily multiply or diversify the instances of national needs. This is not our point. What is discouraging is not the fact of our needs. America has always faced up to these problems since the days of its birth. What is discouraging, rather, is the lack of diversity in the provisions offered for the solution of almost every problem and the nearly universal tendency of turning to government as if we had a kind of Mecca in Washington.

Government has no money of its own. When government does disburse money, it disburses our

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money. There really is nothing particularly beneficent about government in its fiscal operation.

Government money is our money gathered together by a process of taxation, hidden or open. Under no circumstances can we get back more than we have given government. As a matter of fact, we must pay for overhead – for the cost of handling and distributing our money.

Ordinarily it will be considered safe to say that the overhead of management and distribution will be more costly on the state level than on the community level and even more costly on the national level than on the state level.

Let Beneficiaries Pay

One of the great illusions of our day, though, is that somehow, in some way, government can create or produce wealth with which to endow all the communities of our vast nation with monies to solve all or any of their problems.

Essentially, we believe that those who benefit from higher education should pay for it. Accordingly, too, we believe that a rule of thumb, when applicable, should demand that those who benefit most from higher education should pay the most.

We feel that an individual who is qualified for higher education, in that sense of the word as discussed previously, should contribute from his own resources to help pay for the cost of higher education. We do not feel that we are asking too much of any student to expect him to contribute a fair share of earnings from part-time or summer work to help defray the cost of his education. Apart from the culturally rich benefits of a college education, it has been shown that a college education will mean an additional $100,000 in earnings to a person over a lifetime period.

Then, the parents of the student should be expected to contribute a fair share to the cost of education. The benefits they receive from a college education for their son or daughter are too obvious to dwell upon.

Society, too, has its obligation, inasmuch as it is a prime beneficiary of the whole educational process. Society, through the investment of gifts from friends of education, alumni of various colleges, business, industry, charitable trusts, and foundations, must bear its share of the cost.

Tuition

The key to financing higher education, though, is tuition. Let colleges and universities charge tuition that represents a realistic share of the actual cost of higher education, and the burden of fi-

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nancing higher education will be borne by those who should bear it: namely, the student and his parents.

Today, privately-supported colleges and universities follow this pattern of financing. As a rule, tuition represents a major portion of the actual cost of educating a student. The difference between the income from tuition and the actual cost of higher education is made up by gifts from friends, alumni, income from invested funds, and from various auxiliary enterprises.

Youth Needs Challenge

Some might object that to put into operation this principle of payment by those who benefit most would be to force education beyond the financial ability of thousands of young men and women. We do not, of course, want to precipitate such a development. Actually, we believe that such a principle, when applied to this problem, will lead young people to reach out, to strive for something beyond themselves, and in so doing, to learn values and habits of immeasurable worth in meeting the demands of everyday living.

Society does not offer the young person a home fully paid for and furnished with which to begin married life. Yet society is asked to do something for our young people, which, when analyzed, seems equally amazing. To expect the state or federal government to provide a tuition-free education for our youth – the hope of our nation – seems to us to be as unrealistic as expecting the state or federal government to provide our youth with sparkling new homes, completely outfitted and equipped for living.

American youth is ambitious; American youth is courageous. It awaits a challenge from us. It does not hesitate to work, earn, and save money to purchase a home for its family; nor, if called upon, would it hesitate to work, earn, and save to pay for a college education. Thousands upon thousands do it every year.

Student Loans

We concede that there are difficulties to be faced in working out a plan of this kind. But we offer as a possible solution to the major problem the setting up of loan fund machinery. Students could borrow money with which to pay tuition with a long-term program of repayment beginning after graduation. No American youth hesitates to invest in a long-term program of the same kind for home or automobile. Why not such a program for a college education which is of almost inestimable value over a lifetime?

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We believe also that certain presumptions concerning the provision of educational facilities for our growing enrollments should be examined in light of the most careful scrutiny of our whole higher educational system.

For example, one common presumption is that if the school-age population doubles in a certain period, college enrollment will double; consequently, facilities and educational budgets must be doubled.

American ingenuity and resourcefulness, we are convinced, can provide educational opportunity for a greatly increased enrollment without doubling existing facilities and without doubling instructional and administrative personnel. A reorganization of the school calendar and a more efficient utilization of present facilities would do much to solve our problems.

Overlooked Opportunities

The traditional American college calendar, of course, is a functional development resulting from the demands of a predominantly agricultural society of another day. The long summer vacation was a concession to the need for additional help in the fields, and the lengthy holiday recesses were more than likely a concession to the relatively primitive forms of transportation. Our rapidly developing industrial society makes no such calendar demands.

If the college calendar ceases to serve the needs of a dynamic American society, it must be changed. It is conceivable that a truly functional calendar would consist of four periods of three months instead of the traditional two semesters with the shorter summer session tacked on, as it were. By means of this calendar, twice as many undergraduate students could be processed through existing facilities as previously. Such programs are currently in effect in many engineering colleges.

Furthermore, we could re-examine with some benefit the present schedule that calls for classes to meet only three days each week. Why not five consecutive class days? Less time for dreams, perhaps; but, if we are looking for a more efficient utilization of facilities and faculty, we should re-examine our present educational practice in its totality.

We could experiment even further with the relatively new medium – television – to solve the problem of too few teachers and too few buildings. We are convinced that this medium – when properly utilized – will enable one professor to meet as many students as are traditionally met by ten. Such a development can surely

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be looked for in those subjects in which lecture-work predominates. Nor can we afford to overlook the possibilities implicit in visual aids such as movies.

Any re-examination of our total educational practice must involve a searching scrutiny of our curricula. Are we offering programs that are designed to fit our young people to meet the needs of our day or are we preparing our youth for a day long since past?

To solve the complex problem of higher education and to develop a workable blueprint for American higher education, we must:

1. Revise our goals to prepare youth for life in our times.
2. Re-examine our methodology to take full advantage of the latest developments in the art of communications.
3. Scrutinize courses of study – to eliminate the antiquated.
4. Lead our youth to assume greater responsibility for personal development.
5. Integrate our whole educational process with community endeavors to make faculty and student body a part of community life.

We face the future awed by the enormity of the task ahead when actually we should be thrilled by the challenge it offers to our resourcefulness and ingenuity. The problem will be solved if we approach it in the dynamic American tradition – a tradition based on a willingness to depart from the antiquated to embrace that which is new and good. A slavish adherence to revered educational idols will only defeat us. What is called for here is a revolutionary spirit in seeking out what is good – but new – to blend with that which is good – but old. • • •

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

To Acquire Truth

TRUTH IS THE LAW OF GOD. Acquired truth is the law of man. He who intuitively apprehends truth is one who, without effort, hits what is right, and without thinking understands what he wants to know; whose life is easily and naturally in harmony with the moral law. Such a one is what we call a saint or a man of divine nature. He who acquires truth is one who finds out what is good and holds fast to it.

In order to acquire truth, it is necessary to obtain a wide and extensive knowledge of what has been said and done in the world; critically to inquire into it; carefully to ponder over it; clearly to sift it; and earnestly to carry it out.

CONFUCIUS (551 B.C.)

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The Basis of Economic Growth

RALPH HUSTED

IN ALL OF HISTORY no economic system has ever conferred more lasting benefits on mankind than has a free economy. We in America have done the most spectacular job of all time in supplying the wants of people. We have done it through the operation of an economic system which adheres more nearly to the principles of a free economy than any system before it. Our material welfare has improved phenomenally because growth is inherent in the very nature of a free economy. Even the relatively brief but inevitable periods of adjustment which are characteristic of a free economy are but steps in its steady long range growth.

What is a free economy? Why is growth inherent in its very nature? It has been variously described as a market economy, a price economy, the free enterprise system, the private enterprise system, and very loosely as the American way. None of these phrases is a complete definition, and perhaps it would be better not to attempt a definition in a few words.

Three very important institutions form the basis of a free economy. The first and most important, because without it the others could not exist, is personal liberty.

The history of great civilizations has shown many times that little, if any, economic progress can be made unless people enjoy personal freedom – the more personal freedom, the greater and more rapid their material progress. Underlying this is one of the basic truths of human existence. We are individual creations. No two of us think

Mr. Husted, a businessman and a member of the Indianapolis School Board, believes that greater emphasis must be placed on economic education in our high schools. He says that in Indianapolis a concerted effort is now being made in that direction. This article is Mr. Husted's reply to a teacher who asked him to set down some of the basic "pupil understandings" which he thinks should be striven for in any teaching about economic growth.

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alike. No two of us act alike and couldn't if we wanted to. No two of us have exactly the same wants. There is no such thing as a mass mind, mass thinking, mass action, or mass demand for anything. The most that ever can be pointed to as supporting a belief in a mass mind is the millions of ideas held by individuals, among which there may be considerable similarity. The nearest thing to mass action is that on occasion men act similarly because of similarity of ideas. Mass demand is nothing but the total of the diverse wants of countless individuals.

Regardless of how men may combine to satisfy their wants, their efforts are directed toward the innumerable needs of individuals. Men have created business organizations, societies, states, and nations; but these things have no life, no philosophy, no ability to create or produce, and no need for anything separate and apart from the individuals comprising them or for whose benefit they are created. Any way you look at it, life inheres only in individuals. Only individuals grow and progress, and economic growth can be generated only by individuals. Herein lies the significance of personal liberty and freedom of choice.

Before we consider the second requisite of a free economy and how it is connected with the first, we need to clarify one point. Economics deals with the satisfaction of our material wants. Economic growth is nothing more than the satisfaction of an increasing number of such wants. However, most of us believe that we are naturally endowed with a sense of what is right and proper, a sense of morality; and our wants grow out of a need not only for material well-being, but out of intellectual well-being as well. It is logical, therefore, that we should think of economics as a moral science and not as a purely mechanistic set of rules regulating our material existence.

Property Comes from Saving

When men learned to accumulate, to save a little of what they wrestled from the earth to provide for tomorrow's needs, the foundation was laid for the second requisite of a free economy, private property. The basic motivation for saving is our own individual wants. What we save has a special significance for us which it could not have for anyone else, simply because our reason for saving it is our own. Others may save the same thing for a similar but never for exactly the same reason as ours. We naturally identify the things we have saved with ourselves – with our own personal wants. The idea of private owner-

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ship probably came into being therefore as a matter of course.

If personal liberty were to disappear suddenly from the face of the earth, the institution of private property would go with it. Private ownership is private only so long as the owner is free to exercise control. When he loses control, he loses ownership. He must have property which he can identify with himself, and he must be able to control it to satisfy his wants. So it is that private property is necessary to economic progress.

Why a Man Saves

How much we save and why we save are influenced as much by the fact that we are intellectual moral beings as by our material needs. In fact, the two influences are inseparable. Our wants are not limited to the satisfaction of animal appetites. On the contrary, we like to think that we have learned to control such appetites. We do not lead a double existence. We are beings whose material and intellectual well-being are completely interrelated. Our search for intellectual security determines to a great extent our material wants and our ability to satisfy our material needs has much to do with our intellectual well-being. All of us have the same animal appetites, differing only, if at all, in intensity. The big difference in us lies in our intellectual needs and satisfactions. Only an individual himself can know what his needs are. He must be free, therefore, to decide what he wants. He must be free to accumulate and own property for purposes which he alone deems important.

Doing One's Best

The third requisite of a free economy, free enterprise, has to do not so much with the kind of wants we have as with the way we go about satisfying them.

We do not need anyone to tell us that we are happier when doing the things we can do well. Neither do we need anyone to tell us that we usually do well the things that give us the most pleasure. The need for personal liberty in making these choices is so evident that it is hard to believe anyone would ever question it. In effect, however, it is widely questioned today. Happiness is something so personal that no one else can know our feelings except by observing the outward manifestations of what is going on within us. Even then another person only roughly comprehends our thoughts. His notions about us never can be completely accurate because his experiences never have been exactly the same as ours. Moreover, being a different person to begin with,

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nothing could affect him as it would us. Do we need to be reminded, therefore, that only when we are free to choose the kind of work we enjoy most, the kind of work in which we think we can be most productive, can we hope to attain a degree of economic and intellectual well-being which will satisfy us? These are the premises upon which we insist on the right to go into any business we choose, the right to seek any job we think we can handle, the right to quit a job, the right to buy and sell where and to whom we choose, and the right to contract – all of which are summed up in the term free market.

Conservation of Energy

The most remarkable feature of free enterprise is the ingenious system we have devised to conserve our energy. It is, at the same time, the most complex and the most efficient way conceivable to supply a constantly increasing number of our material wants. Economists call it the division of labor. In every day practice we speak of it as specialization of work. Rather than dissipate his energy in the satisfaction of a single immediate want, an individual, by means of this vast cooperative system, can devote his efforts to the supply of goods or services called for in the free market and satisfy many of his wants.

Throughout recorded history, men have had an insatiable urge to understand their relationship with the rest of the universe. The physical sciences have never solved this question. Religion, therefore, has always been, and probably always will be, essential in the lives of most of us. Even in Russia where established forms of religion are prohibited, a different kind of religion has been substituted in order to satisfy the need for intellectual security. The fallacy in the Russian system is the fact that people are told they must accept the one religion approved by the State which in their case, is worship of the State itself. Governments have tried before to impose religious beliefs on people but without much success. Without freedom to find intellectual security for themselves, without freedom to choose their own religious beliefs which are essential to such security, people cannot be happy. Without intellectual security, they cannot improve their material existence. Religion, therefore, also has an important connection with economic growth.

The basic human urge for individual liberty is undoubtedly related to the equally basic characteristic, self-interest, which means, literally, private interest or the

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interest or advantage of one's self. In the minds of some people the term self-interest has evil connotations because they fail to distinguish it from selfishness. To look out for one's own advantage in utter disregard for that of others is selfishness. Admittedly, self-interest sometimes leads to selfishness and even savagery. But we are civilized people. We are moral beings. We are responsible beings. Every right which we so jealously guard carries with it a correlative duty not to interfere with the enjoyment of the same right by anyone else.

Laws To Restrain Evil

Unfortunately, we have not yet reached perfection in understanding and self-control; at times we hurt each other. We look to the law to restrain those tendencies in us which would defeat the ends of our moral nature. We should never forget, however, that the basic purpose of law is to restrain our destructive tendencies and not to direct our peacefully creative actions. Every restraint placed upon us means the loss of some liberty – the loss of the freedom to do what we might have done in the absence of any restraint. When the law goes further to direct our actions, a double loss of liberty is suffered. We then lose not only the freedom to do what we might otherwise have done, but also the freedom to choose any alternative at all. Therein is the evil of compulsory government organization or interference with our economic system. When we turn over to government the job of planning, managing, and controlling any undertaking, regardless of how "humanitarian" it may appear to be, we must weigh the cost in loss of liberty because inevitably the loss occurs.

Defended to Death

In considering this matter, we must not be misled by momentary expedients. Under pressure of one kind or another – it may be fear of being overrun by an alien enemy, of a dictator at home, or the demands of an organized group for special favors such as higher tariffs, higher wages, or higher prices for farm products – our economy may be made to take on the appearance of growth. For a time an increasing number of the material wants of some people may be satisfied. That is economic growth in a sense; but growth that results from production of instruments intended ultimately for the destruction of wealth, growth that comes from compulsory manipulation of economic factors to satisfy the demands of some pressure group, does not endure. We have but to look at Russia today to see

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what may be expected of an economy coercively organized and manipulated principally for one purpose, war production. We have but to look at England to see what may be expected from wide-scale compulsory intervention for still other purposes, albeit they are peaceful purposes. Right here in our own country we can see the effects of attempts at coercive organization of the economy for temporary expedients, such as subsidies to increase farm income, subsidies granted in the guise of government services, taxation intended to redistribute income, and many others.

Man must be free to progress — free but, nevertheless, responsible. The more numerous men become the greater must be their sense of responsibility. This is not something that can be imposed upon them. It comes from education, religious beliefs, and progress itself. Freedom and responsibility promote growth, and growth promotes freedom and responsibility. One sustains the other, and the result is satisfaction of more and ever nobler wants of men. • • •

The Free Market

OUR WANTS, as consumers, are virtually unlimited. But our power, as producers, is limited; human energy is limited, so are raw materials and productive equipment.

How, then, will we choose between all the different, unlimited wants so that we will apply our limited energies and resources of production to the satisfaction of the most urgent?

Broadly there are two alternatives.

(1) We can let governments decide, in the main, the wants to be met and therefore what shall be produced.

(2) We can let the people decide for themselves.

In the first method the people's freedom of choice is set aside by compulsions made effective through government licenses, directives, allocations, higher taxes, and so on.

The second method is that of the "free market" in which people express their preferences through prices and choice of quality.

The prices which consumers will pay, gives an indication to producers, of what they should produce.

From *Facts*, Institute of Public Affairs, Victoria, Australia. October-November, 1956.

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Breaths of Freedom

IN A WORLD CHOKED BY COERCIVE INFLUENCES

☆ ***A Salute to the Citizens of Winnetka, Illinois***

"Winnetkans can now work with a clear conscience for selling the TVA to private operators, and making it a taxpayer instead of a tax eater," editorializes *The Chicago Tribune*. Voters of that Chicagoland community, by a margin of 2,608 to 2,387, have endorsed the sale of their municipal electric plant which the village has operated for more than half a century to the Commonwealth Edison Company.

☆ ***Advertising Pays***

From Norway comes word that advertising is again recognized as a legitimate business expense, deductible for tax purposes.

The issue was thrown in doubt ten years ago when tax authorities declared advertisements of Messrs. A. B. Nilsen to be political in character, and the expenses incurred for such advertising to be ineligible for tax exemption.

After a decade of litigation, the Supreme Court ruled that the firm's politico-commercial advertisements were outlays incurred for the purpose of earning income, and were thus exempt from taxation. The firm was even allowed costs incurred in carrying the case through the courts.

Who's to say it is not good business to question the doings of a government that tries to do everything?

☆ ***Was This Destruction Necessary?***

The largest penalty ever paid by a union for lawbreaking, $315,000, was collected recently by the Southern Bell Telephone Company for damages suffered during the 68-day strike of the Communications Workers of America in 1955. The settlement is said to cover about 60 per cent of the company's direct loss from the widespread sabotage, which included the use of dynamite.

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One might speculate as to how such union activities will be affected by the more general availability of atomic weapons, or how the continuing inflationary policies of the government may affect the size of future fines. But there must be a better way to discover what one's services are worth in a free market; and perhaps union lawlessness will chase us to it.

☆ *Textile Union Tactics Backfire*

The Bates Manufacturing Company, with 6,000 employees in five mills in Maine, recently proposed a pay cut of 14 cents an hour to the textile workers union on grounds that its wage costs average more than those of Southern competitors. Not that this is commended as a reasonable method of determining wages, but at least it's a switch from a system whereby textile manufacturers with plants both in the Northeast and the South "pay off" in sizeable sums to northern unions for the "privilege" of operating nonunionized plants in the South.

☆ *We Believe—*

When an organization sets forth the principles for which it stands, this doesn't necessarily mean that every member so believes. Nevertheless, some of the basic principles adopted by the American Farm Bureau Federation seem worth considering. – WE BELIEVE:

- In the American competitive system, in which property is privately owned, privately managed, and operated for profit, and in which supply and demand are the primary determinants of market price.
- That efficiency of production and maximum per capita production are primary elements in determining standards of living.
- That property rights are essential to the preservation of personal freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.
- In the right of every man to choose his own occupation; to be rewarded in accordance with his productive contribution to society; and to save, invest, and spend his earnings as he chooses.
- That the trend toward increased centralization of power in the federal government, if left unchecked, will lead to socialism and thus to communism.
- That, in his quest for "security," the individual must oppose policies leading to the curtailment of individual freedom and opportunity.
- That establishment by the government of organizations of citizens which may in any way remain under its political influence or control threatens the continuation of self-government.

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F. A. HARPER

YOUR TAX BURDEN

I. FRUITS OF INTOLERANCE

TAXES are now taking your earnings for almost twenty minutes out of each hour of work, if you are a typical United States citizen. The proportion is higher than that which was taken by the governments of any of the leading European nations a quarter of a century ago, including Germany and the dictatorship of Russia.

Not only are these taxes a terrific economic burden on everybody at all levels of income, but they represent a serious loss of liberty as well.

Some careful students of the subject, who have watched our taxes increase rapidly over the last half century and have compared our experience with that of other nations, believe we have already gone beyond "the point of no return." They believe, in other words, that despite our surface evidences of prosperity and welfare and a carefree life, we have already gone as far as to undermine the economic, intellectual, and moral foundations of our civilization to a point where we shall surely slide into another dark age. The undermining, they believe, is as hidden from common view and realization as are the depredations of termites which eat away the foundation of a building before anything serious happens to what can be seen on the surface – happens while the roof and outside walls remain intact, and appear as sound as ever when viewed superficially.

Such a prophecy of doom is gloomy indeed. We all tend to dislike having shadows cast on the horizon of the rosy future for which we yearn. All pessimism is detested, even when it is soundly based on correct analysis. If the going is currently pleasant, we are prone to project our momentary pleasures into future hopes. And that seems to be the reason why most persons prefer to walk into their troubles blindfolded to reality.

I do not know whether such a gloomy prophecy is correct or incorrect. It is a question too large for me to presume to be able to

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answer. But I at least reject it as an *inevitable* future in store for us. Every collapse of a civilization must have been a man-made destruction. And in theory, at least, all man-made destruction is avoidable by man. The only question is: Are we wise enough to avoid it? Can we learn in time to avoid another dark age?

Time alone will reveal the answer. But an initial step in prevention is for us to understand the problem. One must know what it is that can lead to a collapse of our civilization. Knowing the problem and the cause, we then know the means of its avoidance.

So, in this article I shall begin to diagnose the tax problem. Taxes, in one way or another, have provided the path over which civilizations have collapsed economically throughout history. What, really, are taxes?

Taxes Defined

Taxes are the economic burden we impose upon one another by means of force through government, in attempting to deal with those human differences which we refuse to tolerate. They are the expenses incurred when some persons try to control or change the conduct of other persons by means of the government as a monopoly agent of force.

In explaining the meaning of taxes, I have not included any qualifier as to whether or not these differences between persons should be tolerated. The definition merely states that taxes are a cost of attempting to repress or eliminate these differences by the governmental agency, without either approving or condemning these differences per se. The definition of taxes does not attempt to ascribe to any particular aspect of conduct the quality of either good or evil.

Those moral aspects of human conduct are important, to be sure, and will be considered later. At another point we shall consider conduct from the standpoint of good and evil, together with a consideration of various methods of dealing with evil conduct from the standpoint of the wisdom and effectiveness of the method employed.

The condition which gives rise to taxes can be seen most clearly, I believe, if we will consider first and in some detail this problem of human differences from which taxes are spawned as an economic cost in society.

Good and Evil

Superficial observation blinds us to the extent of human variation among us. We hear remarks like this, for instance, from our first day on earth: "He looks ex-

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actly like . . . . ," or, "He is a spit and image of . . . ."

I recall how all Chinese persons looked almost exactly alike to me when first I met a few of them. They appeared as alike as grains of rice. Only after becoming better acquainted with them did their innumerable differences come into focus for me, which at first I had been unable to discern. Only after closer observation did I come to realize that Chinese persons are as different from one another as are Englishmen, Irishmen, and Germans.

You, too, at an earlier age, have probably sensed this seeming alikeness among some race of humans then unfamiliar to you, or perhaps among trees or elephants or something. But as your perception became sharper, the differences – differences which had always been there – came into focus.

Human Variation

Perhaps one of the most distinctive things about humans is their extreme variation. Humans are said to be the most advanced and complex form of life, thus exhibiting differences that are presumably greater, one individual from another, than for any other form of life.

No two persons are exactly alike, not even so-called identical twins. Terrific differences exist among us in size, shape, color of hair and skin, muscular development, sensory astuteness, mental equipment, and in many other features.

Take, for instance, the one matter of man's "mind." One authority, who has made extensive study of the human mind, claims to have identified over forty totally separate dimensions of the mind. He speculates further that there are probably as many as sixty dimensions in all.[1] Ponder the scope of just this one aspect of variation. With sixty separate dimensions of the mind, each of which can be anywhere along a wide range from high to low for any one person, an endless variety of patterns of the human mind becomes possible. The mental processes of any one person may, therefore, be quite beyond the comprehension of most other persons.

It is only the most learned observers who can see these innumerable human differences of all sorts. They know best how infinite is the extent of human variation. So I shall not attempt to explain human variation in full here. I shall leave that to the masters of

[1] "The Structure of Human Intellect" by Professor J. P. Guilford, University of Southern California. A paper presented before the meeting of the National Academy of Sciences, Pasadena, California, November 2-4, 1955.

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biological and philosophical knowledge, such as Professors Roger Williams and Hans Thirring.[2] I shall pass that over and go on to the point of our concern here. We need only, for our purposes here, to realize the extent of human variation and to appreciate the nature of its terrific impact on all affairs of man's relationship to man in society.

Human variation becomes, on the one hand, a price we must pay for the exceedingly high development embodied in the human form of life. For if we were a simple form of life like the algae, variation would be far less extensive and life would be far less complex. The algae do not have the problems we have, such as that of taxes with which we are here concerned. But, on the other hand, neither do the algae have the potential of attainment that humans have.

So in our variation we live with a powerful tool for attainment, which is also a powerful tool for self-destruction. If we can learn how to deal with these human differences so that they fructify rather than sterilize attainment, variation can be a blessing instead of a suicidal plague. The consequences of failing to use it as a good instead of an evil could mean the extermination of our civilization. The consequences could even eliminate human life itself, though I believe this to be unlikely. If we should persist in pursuing suicidal endeavors on which we have embarked, however, we could dive into another dark age.

It is precisely this quality of human variation which develops into all sorts of problems, at all levels of social contact – within the family, within organizations, within and between nations, and the like. Our immediate concern, however, is to focus the way in which human variation becomes involved in the matter of taxes – the economic burden of government which we impose upon one another by means of force, in an attempt to cope with certain human differences which we refuse to tolerate.

Government: To Govern

Government is engaged in governing – *govern-ment*. To *govern*

[2] For instance, see Professor Williams' recent book, *Biochemical Individuality*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956, and also his earlier book, *Free and Unequal*, University of Texas Press, 1953; Professor Thirring's *Homo Sapiens*, Vienna: Ullstein Verlag, 1947, and his recent article, "The Step from Knowledge to Wisdom" in *American Scientist*, October 1956, pp. 445-56; *Liberty, a Path to Its Recovery* by F. A. Harper, Chapter 8 and Appendix II, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1949.

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means to rule, control, hold back, restrain, shackle, bridle. Govern*ment* refers to the means or the agency in the name of which one or more persons govern others.

Governing, of course, means the forcing by some persons upon other persons of some form or degree of unfreedom. For it would obviously be ridiculous to say that a person who is being governed is being left alone to do as he deems proper and wise – who is, in other words, being allowed to operate as a truly self-governed and self-controlled person. On the contrary, he is being governed to the extent he is not allowed to be self-governed, self-controlled.

In common usage and as related to taxes, then, the word government refers to the sole legal agent of compulsion among persons. It refers to the business that is engaged in performing the "service" of governing.

Compulsory or Forbidden

In a completely governed society, as the saying goes, everything that is not compulsory is forbidden. A completely authoritarian government holds unlimited powers to rule, to control, and to restrain all the citizens except the governor himself, who sets the rules of restraint for all others. The governor is the victim of his task, but he is not otherwise in a condition of involuntary servitude.

I should point out again that I am not attempting here to differentiate between acts which should be restrained and those which should not be restrained, from the standpoint of morals or propriety. Governing is composed entirely of restraint, which may be the restraint of the good as well as of the bad. It is unrealistic to assume that all governing will be of one moral hue. And so to govern is to restrain, whether of good or of evil.

Intolerable Differences

We govern one another as a consequence of our differences rather than our similarities. If we were all completely alike in all respects, including our beliefs as well as our conduct, I fail to see how there should be any governing demanded at all. For then everyone would be conducting himself exactly as others must deem proper. Any constabulary under such a circumstance would be a foolish wastage, and surely we would not burden ourselves with taxes for such as that. So there would presumably be no government among a completely homogeneous population.

All governing, then, arises from differences rather than from similarities among people. Yet, not all differences grow into government,

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either. Some differences are tolerated or even welcomed. In those instances no control of one another is attempted. To illustrate, differences that are accepted and even enjoyed are reflected in the admissions paid to see major league ball games or the opera, or to view some human freak exhibited in the side show at the county fair. We are willing to pay in order that these may endure; we do not want them destroyed or restrained.

Some differences, however, are ones we refuse to tolerate. And these are the ones which become embodied in the processes of government. That is why the human form of life, with its highly developed differentiation between individuals, is so susceptible to the threat of a cancerous growth of government. For with infinite variation between persons, intolerance of differences can easily lead to inordinate growth and economic suicide.

When such intolerance grows unchecked, we more and more engage ourselves in a futile attempt to remake mankind from his biological pattern of variation; to saddle ourselves with more and more of the costs and wasted effort involved, toward an end where we would eventually starve. Fortunately, however, the urge to survive always exceeds the urge to reform. And so it is that the human race has never yet laid itself entirely on the altar of any sacrificial efforts to attain conformity among humans. The robber Procrustes, whose bed of violent conformity became legendary, never became much of a success as a leader of societal betterment.

Costs Become Taxes

The task of governing requires both material means and human effort. These both have value in the market. They are among our economic goods and services, in competition with the production of bread and shoes and shelter. And that is why there is a money cost in governing. That is why taxes are assessed to pay the costs of this collectivized service of governing, collectively hired and performed by government.

True, some governing may be gratuitous, as when the citizens join voluntarily in a posse to track down a murderer, and the like. When that is the case, there is no direct money cost involved and no taxes are collected for it. The only cost involved is what the participants might otherwise have done with the time and tools they devoted to the hunt.

It is probably fair to say that as governing moves further and further away from controlling

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those forms of conduct which essentially all the people deem to be reprehensible, the process becomes more and more expensive. This is because fewer and fewer people are willing to contribute their time and means voluntarily under these circumstances. Governing then becomes merely a job for those employed in governing. They demand pay for their work – as much pay as the market would offer them, perhaps, to dig ditches, to practice medicine, or to do something else in workaday life.

As things stand today, an insignificant part of the processes of government is in the form of contributed time and means by those who do the tasks of governing. Essentially all of it, other than conscripted military personnel, is now hired and bought in the wage and product market places. And the price may be high.

Collected by Force

The service of governing involves, then, costs which are financed by these taxes. Taxes are collected by force from the citizens on some predesigned pattern of assessment. Customarily, government employees themselves decide to whom the bills shall be sent.

Using an analogy, and remembering that governing is merely a service performed at a price, the process is something like this: Let us say that a lady – as does the government – goes shopping to buy a hat or a dress or a mink coat, which she "needs." After she has decided what she wants, she buys it. She then decides to whom the purchase will be charged: "Put this on the bills of all persons in the nation, in the following amounts . . ."

Government must pay its costs this way because it has no net worth. It is constantly insolvent, obligating itself to spend something it does not yet have. It has no earned revenues from prior services rendered and sold in the market at a net gain, as you do when you go shopping with money you earned at yesterday's work. The government, instead, must obtain by force of taxation the revenue with which to pay its bills.

An exception to this description might seem to be certain fees charged those who use certain government services. But the revenue from such sources is minor and insignificant as compared with the total cost of government. And furthermore, even in these instances, with hardly an exception, the service which the government offers is one which it has assigned to itself under a strict monopoly. So even these exceptions are charges that you must pay at a monopoly price, or go without the service altogether.

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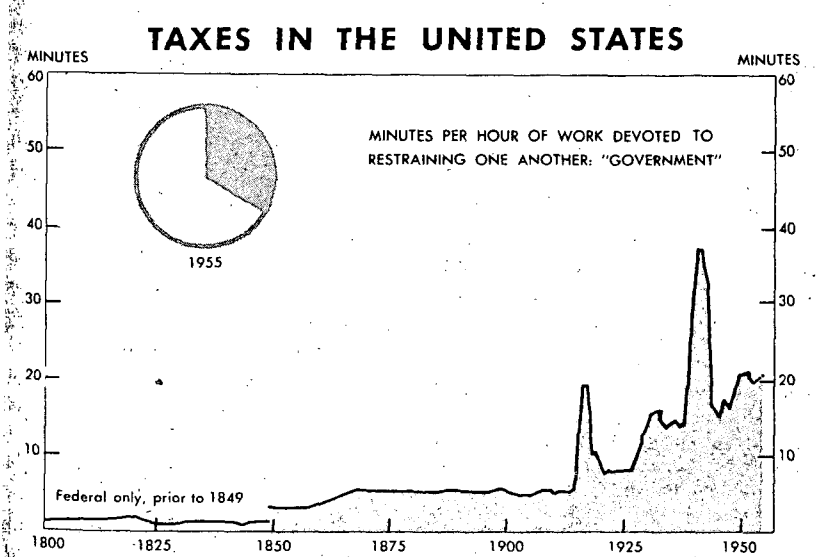
Tax assessments to pay almost all the costs of government are imposed by force. Payment is obligatory on everyone, whether he wants the "service" or not – whether he uses it or not. He must accept it from the government source at a dictated price, even though he may know a better and cheaper way of obtaining a service he wants. So all tax collection rests on intolerance – intolerance for all persons who may believe that those human differences being governed should be tolerated rather than controlled; all who believe that even if there is to be an attempt to control, there is some better and more efficient way to do it.

The Long-time Pattern of Taxes

With this background of the nature of government and taxes, the long-time changes in the tax burden in the United States may become especially meaningful in new perspective.

The accompanying chart shows, for almost the entire period of our nation's history, the changing level of taxes.

The tax burden is shown on the chart in terms of the part of each hour of work taken to pay the costs of government. It represents



SOURCE: Derived from Department of Commerce figures on national income.

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the part of our labor product taken to govern one another, taken to restrain and control human differences. By expressing the tax burden in this manner, the problems of changing population, of changing hours of work, of changes in rates of pay, and the like, are all eliminated from view so that we can more clearly see the point of our concern – taxes.[3]

The concept may be seen by first considering only two persons on a desert island. If one of them should become so concerned with restraining the peculiarities of his neighbor that he catches the neighbor and sits on him all the time, a full 60 minutes out of each hour of his work would then be devoted to governing the island's population. And the victim, being totally restrained, could produce nothing either. So all the island's "production" would be absorbed by government. Both would then starve, unless they were to discover how to tolerate some of their human differences and do something besides govern.

Now suppose that some ungoverned action is to be allowed. Some time can now be spent gathering coconuts and catching fish. As more and more freedom is allowed, the proportion of the time absorbed in controlling one another would decline to 50 minutes, 40 minutes, etc., out of each hour of work.

Perhaps the two would never be able to figure out how to reduce government to zero. Perhaps intolerable differences would persist. These become "government," due to efforts to control what is not tolerated. This part would persist as a cost of governing. Let us say, for instance, that one of the two persons persists in trying to filch the coconuts which the other has gathered, causing the other to devote some time standing guard or building some sort of protective storage. This would become a cost of government, in one form or another. In this instance, the process would be considered as "good business," and a wise expenditure of time and means. And in that sense, governing would be a valid cost of doing business, a wise way to spend part of one's time.

But it is likewise true that the process described above might be exactly reversed and be worse than wasteful. Perhaps the one bent on filching what someone else has produced is the bigger and brawnier man of the two. By one means or another, then, he will be-

[3] The method by which this is done is to relate the total costs of government in the United States to the total of all personal incomes. All incomes finally become the incomes of one person or another. This ratio was then expressed in terms of minutes out of each hour of work, taken as taxes.

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come the governor, living on loot taken by force of sheer strength from the hard-working producer of coconuts and fish.

So the costs of government are not necessarily the costs of controlling evil acts of other persons, in the interests of what you and I deem to be moral, or ethical, or proper. It may be precisely the reverse. Witness, for instance, the predominant pattern of governments throughout all history, as they have become more and more corrupt.

All we can say – all we shall say at this point – is that the costs of government are the costs of controls which the dominant faction in any nation is able to impose on the others. These controls may take any form. The one sure thing is that it will be the rule of coercive might.

One-Third of Our Effort

Referring to the chart again, we see how the proportion of our productive effort in the United States which has been taken in the attempt to control the actions of one another has grown fabulously and dangerously over the years. It was relatively insignificant in earlier years. But for a century it has grown and grown, until now taxes take about twenty minutes out of each hour of work.

This growth is in spite of all the business efficiencies which should have made it possible to cut costs in the devices of governing – automobiles for the policemen, business machines to help in all sorts of tasks, and all the rest.

The question with which I shall end this discussion is: Has the average person in the United States become so much more corrupt and evil over the years that we must spend one-third of our time in controlling each other? Does the present generation require six times as much governing as their grandparents and great-grandparents did? I think not. But even if they do, is this the means by which to regain honor and self-control?

If we are not so much more evil than our ancestors, then we must look upon this growing burden of government as a suicidal expression of growing intolerance for human differences – differences which are the mark of a higher order of creation in the form of mankind which could, instead of inducing a cancerous growth of government, become the means of unbelievable human attainment.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Other articles on "Your Tax Burden" will appear in subsequent issues.*

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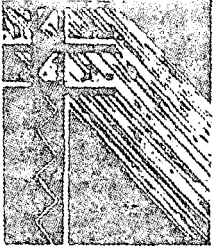

AUGUSTIN NAVARRO V.

Christmas Presents

IT HAS BECOME customary in Mexico to give Christmas presents. In many cases, members of a family give to one another as a sign of their joy on such an important occasion and also to show their affection. In most homes, the head of the family pays for all the presents, those which he buys directly as well as those bought by members of his family. Either way, the money comes from his own pocket.

Many persons think of the government as a bona fide source of Christmas presents. But, like the head of the family, we ourselves pay for each such gift we receive. The money comes from our own pockets.

Many journalists write with enthusiasm of the enormous sums scheduled by the national budget for various projects. Optimism spreads and countless persons imagine that they will benefit by gifts from the government. But the fact is that the government has no money except what it takes from the people through taxes.

A part of the money the State collects it spends for the cumbersome bureaucratic machinery which every day increases and embraces more and more. In addition to the federal budget, there are twenty-nine state budgets and innumerable municipal budgets, each of which supports its own legislature with great numbers of deputies and senators. There is the federal executive plus thirty state executives. There is the federal judicial power and thirty local judiciaries. And, there are thousands and thousands of municipal presidents, councils, and city governments. All these hundreds of thousands of civil servants are supported by the people whom they govern.

Another sizeable part of the money collected by the government goes to pay for public works which are, or should be, of general utility.

Unfortunately, another large portion of the tax money is used to establish, develop, or encourage official or semiofficial enterprises. These projects, justifiably or not, are considered to be in the public

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interest; and because they do not seek profit primarily, they yield very low returns or, in some instances, they produce large losses.

It is argued that the State has the right and the obligation to promote enterprises, even though they will result in losses, which private initiative does not or cannot promote by itself. One forgets that private initiative is made up of each and every inhabitant of the Republic of Mexico. It is assumed, falsely, that government officials have better judgment and greater capacity than do the people themselves for knowing their needs and wants, and knowing which industries should be promoted or encouraged. Thus, millions of pesos are used by the State to promote or to encourage unprofitable enterprises. If these pesos had been left in the pockets of individuals, each would have determined according to his own judgment what use should be made of the money. Some, buying cigars, would stimulate the cigar industry. Others would buy more foods, encouraging the food industry. Still others would build more houses, stimulating the construction industry—and so forth. Finally, others would save and accumulate capital so necessary and indispensable in our undercapitalized country, thus stimulating production generally in accordance with the population increase which Mexico is experiencing year by year.

If it can be shown that the prosperity of the more advanced countries is due in some measure to the economic freedom which they have enjoyed, why not extend that economic freedom in underdeveloped countries, as Mexico, which have such urgent need of capital investment in order to produce more goods at lower prices and to raise the level of living of the masses?

Actually, the Christmas gift which one imagines to be from the government affords no reason for cheer since it is only a return of part of the money previously taken from our own pockets. Let us strive to improve our productivity for the benefit of ourselves and the community in general, with no illusions about Christmas presents that we ourselves have paid for at very high prices. • • •

FREEDOM ON LIBERTY

Property Precedes Charity

BUT if nothing is mine, then is there not only no justice, but no possibility of benevolence.

P. E. DOVE, *The Theory of Human Progression*

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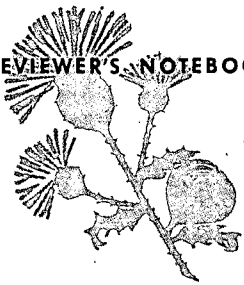
A REVIEWER'S NOTEBOOK



WHEN THISTLES BEAR FIGS

John Chamberlain

UNLIKE his poetic ancestor, the John Keats who has just written *The Crack in the Picture Window* (Houghton Mifflin, $3.00) has not traveled much in the realms of gold. His province is the counterfeit metals, and his mode of writing is a screaming, screeching satire.

The Crack in the Picture Window is a scorching, completely unqualified attack on the mass housing developments that have been turning much of America into a spotty suburban vista. Although Mr. Keats, a reporter turned sociologist, lacks even a nodding acquaintance with such virtues as understatement and modulation of tone, much of what he has to say is unfortunately true. Everyone who has seen the acres of "boxes-on-a-slab" which constitute some of our newest housing schemes must know that in ten or fifteen years they will be prime candidates for slum removal.

What Mr. Keats has to say about Rolling Knolls, Virginia – the fictionized setting of his little morality play – makes perfectly good sense emotionally, hygienically, and esthetically. The houses in Rolling Knolls lack just about everything that makes a house a home. They aren't big enough to provide anything but dormitory space. The yards are two-by-fours; and when the yards are filled with sandboxes, jungle gyms, and outdoor fireplaces (as most of them come to be within very short order), they resemble nothing so much as mazes designed to test the ratiocinative powers of a bunch of cornered rats.

Humanly speaking, Mr. Keats stacks the cards against the inhabitants of Rolling Knolls by giving them such names as John and Mary Drone, Gladys Fecund, Mrs. Ardis Voter, Henry Amiable, the Spleens, the Faints, and the Wilds. The contractor who conceived Rolling Knolls in the first place is Samuel O. Burmal, and one of his subsidiary companies is, appropriately enough, baptized the "SOB Suburban Bank and Trust Company."

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Bored and Broke

Since the Spleens, the Faints, and the Drones are piled on top of each other, they naturally get in each other's hair. The men go off to work during the day to not-so-distant Washington, D. C., apparently taking all of the cars and leaving no means of private locomotion to the wives. The wives, of course, still have legs to walk on, and it is just conceivable that they could use buses. But, lacking the energy to use legs and buses, they stay at home in the development except for trips to the nearby supermarket. Bored to death by their own laziness, they try to alleviate the tedium by holding morning kaffeeklatsches on the lawn. The conversation is inevitably about such things as the toilet training of infants or the sins and defects of husbands. Everyone is gadget-mad, and when one Rolling Knoller gets a television set or a clothes dryer, the rest must follow suit. There is not a family in Rolling Knolls that is not in debt to its ears; and when payday comes around, the bank accounts in Mr. Burmal's bank are denuded within twenty-four hours as the checks go out for the time payments.

Mr. Keats does a fine sardonic job of lampooning the surface troubles of the Rolling Knolls householders. Quoting the sociologists, he makes some excellent points about the difference between a community and a development. In a community young people live next door to older people, and grandma is sometimes available as a babysitter. A community has moving picture theatres, concert halls, parks with tennis courts, a YMCA, and a few churches. There are streets with shops – and even the poorest inhabitants can afford window-shopping.

In a development the people are usually in the same age brackets. Grandma is not there to baby-sit – or to hand out the wisdom of her years. There are no forty-year-olds to provide ballast for the twenty-five-year-olds. And such cultural items as libraries, picture galleries, and book stores are too far away to be visited save by determined travelers.

The Plea to Government

Having made his cultural and spiritual points, however, Mr. Keats is unable to come up with a respectable answer to his problem. He asks "we, the people" to do something about the situation by enforcing "better zoning regulations" and by putting "ceilings" on land values which would discourage the practice of subdividing to effect a quick monetary clean-up. Mr. Keats is "not ordinarily in favor of government controls,"

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and he sometimes thinks that "creation of the federal post office was a step in the wrong direction." But to him housing is a "public utility," and "representative government" must step in to save the situation.

Mr. Keats doesn't notice that he is merely advocating a "hair of the dog that bit you" treatment for the Rolling Knolls type of delirium tremens. He doesn't notice that it was government – good old government – that brought Rolling Knolls into existence in the first place. It was government which drafted young men into the army and navy and, in course of time, released them as veterans with GI rights. Included in the GI rights was quick and easy access to government money for housing. A veteran could get a mortgage insured without proving a thing about his financial condition beyond presence on a payroll. According to the law, the young veteran was entitled to a house (and a thirty-year mortgage) without putting anything down.

With the government providing the insurance money, naturally the S. O. Burmals of the home-building world leaped at the chance to do a quick deal for the young veteran and his family. Who wouldn't have jumped at the idea of making money without taking risks? The old idea that a young fellow just out of the army ought to rent a place until he had established himself in a career disappeared into limbo, and Rolling Knolls developments blossomed everywhere.

More of the Same

And now that the political state, with its easy credit, has called thousands of Rolling Knolls developments into being, Mr. Keats calls on this same political state to do something to erase what it has done. Well, some day thistles may bear figs, the sun may rise in the west, and rabbits and hounds may fraternize, but the same government that conjured Rolling Knolls into being will hardly conjure it out. Rolling Knolls is there to stay until it disintegrates, and if there is more easy credit, with thirty years to pay and nothing down, the Samuel O. Burmals of the building world will continue to take the largesse which the political state hands out.

No doubt Mr. Keats will set me down as an "enemy of housing for the people" because I doubt that government can do any better than it has done in the housing field. All I can say to Mr. Keats is that it is a matter of record that the British, in the nineteen thirties, financed a rather good building boom by relying on the purely private cooperation of the

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Building Societies. These Building Societies were examples of "unassisted private enterprise," to quote Gustav Stolper's description of them in *This Age of Fable*. If Mr. Keats's young veterans had had to think through their housing problem to the point of organizing a Building Society to provide themselves with homes, they would have seen to it that they were getting something worthwhile for their money. It was the "something-for-nothing" lure that led John and Mary Drone to their destruction in Mr. S. O. Burmal's Rolling Knolls Estates.

As for the subdivider's profits collected by Mr. Burmal, what was there to prevent a number of young veterans from pooling their resources to buy up farm acreage dirt cheap? They could have started their own development then, making their own rules for land use even to the creation of a community swimming pool. But this presupposes better human material than Mr. Keats's Drone family. • • •

Natural Resources: The Economics of Conservation

By Anthony Scott. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 184 pp. $3.50.

Until very recently, economists sorely neglected the conservation question. The vacuum was promptly filled by a host of sentimental reformers who waxed indignant over capitalism's alleged "ravaging" of the forests, "squandering" of oil, destruction of grazing land, and the like. In their selfish greed, ran the charge, free enterprisers had apparently destroyed the birthright of their descendants. "Society" in the shape of government, the conservationists declared, must step in and plan for the long-range interests of present and future generations.

Professor Scott is a brilliant young Canadian economist who pioneers in this book in bringing economics to bear on conservation problems. It is a comprehensive analysis, both theoretical and factual, of conservation. For example, Scott shows that the market provides best for the future through adjustments in the capital value of resources. When the market operates, natural resources, like other capital, are allocated to serve most efficiently the desires of consumers. Expected future returns from a resource are "capitalized" in its present going price. The government's forced restriction of production not only distorts the free market's allocation of production, but also implies that the "present" must never consume for fear of injuring the "future." But, since the "future" must therefore ab-

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stain for the sake of a still later "future," when will the resource be used at all? In the United States and other countries in this century, governments have interfered to deprive society permanently of valuable resources.

As for the "ravaging" of resources, Professor Scott sees that it was partly quite proper since it cleared land for more valuable uses. We would still be living like the primitive Indians, for instance, if we had stubbornly insisted on preserving all the timber the Pilgrims found upon arriving on this continent. Further, Scott demonstrates that whatever waste we have suffered stems from our failure to grant sole ownership of technological units – i.e., of whole resources – to private persons. Thus, we fail to grant private ownership of fishing rights in the ocean, of whole oil pools, or often of the forests themselves. We only grant rights to use the resources: to cut down the trees, to catch fish, to drill oil. If the resource itself must remain wholly unowned, it will be to no one's benefit to conserve its capital value. Naturally, then, production will become excessive. The cure is to permit private ownership of all natural resources on the basis of ownership to first user.

Professor Scott is a welcome addition to the London School of economists – stanchly devoted to free enterprise – descending from the late Edwin Cannan. His *Natural Resources* is indispensable to any study of the conservation bugaboo.

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

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Such security can be realized only if markets are free of monopoly controls. The property of individuals must be protected from confiscation by other individuals, including those in government office. The false charity of governmental subsidy cannot withstand exposure to truth. Governmental gifts to the aged cultivate a robber instinct among men who are in search of security.

No person can ever really depend for his security upon a gift from another. But his only hope for a gift, in case of real need, lies in his having helped preserve the right of every individual to the product of his own labor. Only in that right, and full exercise of it, is to be found any security by any person.

A selection from The Pension Idea *by Paul L. Poirot. The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y. 52 pp. 50 cents.*

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